

CONFIDENTIAL

USSR - MIDDLE EAST: Soviet Peace Proposal

President Brezhnev yesterday repackaged the longstanding Soviet proposal for an Arab-Israeli peace settlement in order to make it more compatible with the Arab plan formulated at the recent Fez summit and to counter the new US initiative.

Speaking at a dinner in the Kremlin for visiting South Yemeni President Hasani, Brezhnev ridiculed the US as merely pretending to search for a just solution to the Arab-Israeli problem. He said US opposition to a Palestinian state calls into question the legal basis of Israel's existence, because the 1947 UN resolution partitioning Palestine stipulated the creation of both a Jewish and an Arab state.

The Soviet leader then renewed his call for an international conference on the Arab-Israeli dispute based on six principles, rather than the three contained in Moscow's earlier proposal. The points listed yesterday included the incorporation of East Jerusalem into the new Palestinian state, an explicit call for an end to the state of war between Israel and the Arab states, and a role for the UN Security Council as guarantor of a settlement.

Brezhnev ended with a word of praise for the Fez plan. He stressed that it is "not at variance" with the Soviet proposal.

Comment: The new points in the Soviet proposal are all contained in the Fez plan. The Soviets in the past had been purposely vague on the status of Jerusalem and on who should be guarantors of a final settlement. Moscow welcomed the specific reference in the Arab plan to the UN Security Council as a guarantor because this would give the USSR a role.

The recognition of Israel's right to security was less straightforward than the earlier Soviet proposal. Coupled with Brezhnev's hint that Israel's legal right to exist might be in question, this apparently was an attempt to bring the Soviet position into line with the Arab stand on the issue.

Brezhnev's modification of the Soviet proposal to incorporate Arab views and his unequivocal condemnation of the US initiative were clearly designed to convince the Arabs to turn toward the USSR, not the US, for a just peace settlement.

16 September 1982

Soviet Middle East Peace Proposals

23 February 1981

15 September 1982

Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories seized in 1967.

Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories seized in 1967 and after. Recognition of inviolability of border between Israel and its neighbors.

Creation of a Palestinian state.

Creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinian refugees must be allowed to return to the homes they fled in 1948 or receive compensation.

Incorporation of East Jerusalem into the new Palestinian state.

Guarantee the security and sovereignty of all states in the region, including Israel.

Guarantee of the right of all states in the region to a safe and independent existence and development.

An end to the state of war between Israel and the Arab states. All sides in the conflict, including Israel and the Palestinian state, must commit themselves to respect each other's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, and to resolve disputes peacefully.

Guarantee of the settlement by the permanent members of the UN Security Council or the Council as a whole.

(Both proposals call for the convening of an international conference on the Arab-Israeli issue with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO.)